

CHILDHOOD

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ashamed.¹ As far as I could ascertain, I think the same kind of shame exists between a father and his son, but I did not have the opportunity of investigating this matter fully, because I was so much more with the women than with the men in the casual, everyday, gossip life, which is the time when this type of observation could best be made. 861 831

INSTRUCTION IN FOLK-TALES AND MYTHS

One aspect of the child's education is not so subtle. Definite instruction is given in the telling of folk-tales and myths. Sometimes the children may learn them casually as they sit around the campfires at night with the adults, but to assure the children's real knowledge of this folk literature, there is a period lasting three or four weeks during which the adult males and females tell the children tales at night around the fire. A feast marks the completion of this period for the relation of folk tales. The tales are very much in the nature of Aesop's Fables, in that many of them point a moral. Etiquette, taboos, customs, are all illustrated in these narratives, as is also the punishment for those who break taboos and customs. The best illustrations are some of the tales themselves. The following are a few: 867 538

An old woman tells her two grandchildren not to take a certain path. She points to it and says: "This is not a good path. You must not go on it. There are bananas on this path and they are ripe, but you must not eat them." Then she points to another path as the one the children are to take. 867 539

The next day the old woman sends the two children for some water and again reminds them that they are not to take the taboo path. But the children walk down

¹ In our own society most parents do not like to discuss their sex interests with their own children. The question of whether this is a universal characteristic between parents and children is for further investigation.

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539 the taboo path and eat the forbidden bananas. They return to their grandmother and she sees a little of the banana sticking to the corner of their mouths. Then she is very cross, and asks why they have eaten the forbidden bananas. The children, to divert her attention, tell her to look out for a dog. She turns around to look for the dog, which, however, does not exist. While her back is turned the children duck into the water and swim away. They are drowned.

Then the grandmother catches a pig and makes a big feast for the dead grandchildren.

A woman is in the village taking care of her newborn infant. Her husband is away working in the bush garden. A man out fishing in a canoe hears the woman singing to her baby and comes ashore. He comes to her and says, "Ah, you are singing!" She replies that she is singing to her child and that her mother and father and husband are away in the bush garden. The man returns to his canoe and continues to look for sharks. The woman continues singing and the same conversation with the man is repeated. But he ends by telling her to come out in the canoe with him. At first she says "No." But he finally persuades her. She and the baby go out in the canoe and the woman and the man copulate.

They come back and land on the shore of the hamlet, Sapone. All the people of the village look at them and know that they have had intercourse. The woman is very much ashamed.¹ With the child on her back she climbs to the top of a coconut tree, throws herself, the child still on her back, to the ground, and they die. Then a pig is killed and a big feast made for the dead woman and child.

¹ There is a strong taboo against a woman having sexual intercourse when she is suckling her child.

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A brother and sister are on their way to get water. As they walk through the bush they come to a *ias* tree with fruit on it. The girl climbs up the tree to get some of the fruit, while the boy remains on the ground. She throws the fruit down to him. He looks up and sees her genitalia. 867
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The girl calls out to him to eat the fruit, but he replies that he does not want to eat, but wishes to copulate with her. He begins to sing. The girl asks why he sings and does not eat the fruit. He continues singing. The girl comes down from the tree and they walk to their home, he still singing.

Then they go in the back of the house and have intercourse many times in succession.

Afterward the parents kill the boy, and the girl dies from having copulated so many times in succession. The appropriate mortuary rites are held.

The men and women of Lesu were going in canoes to one of the Tabar islands. In one canoe was a husband and wife, who left their child behind because he had so many sores. As the parents push off the child cries out that he wants to go with them. But the parents answer, "No, you have too many sores. You stay behind." And the canoe pushes off.

The child remains on the beach and a fish named *Tsugelut*, comes up and tells the boy to get a banana leaf and put it on his back. The boy does this and then sits on the fish's back and the fish carries him across the water. The boy calls out, "*Tsel, tsel, tsel*." ("Hurry up, hurry up, hurry up.") The fish goes quickly and arrives at Tabar before the canoe carrying the parents.

The child is at Tabar before the Lesu people arrive. When they come they see him on the beach and call out to his parents that their child is already there. The

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539 parents reply that it cannot be their child because they left him at home. Then they look at him, recognize their son, and are very cross. They ask, "Why have you come when you have so many sores?"

After the boy has been at Tabar for a while, the fish who brought him tells him to put on his *kepkep* (breast ornament) and then teaches him a spell to heal the sores. And the sores are healed. Now the boy marries a Tabar girl and the two sit on the back of the fish and return to Lesu.

Upon their return they have a big feast of pigs and taro. During the feast the parents return in their canoe. They ask their son for some of the pig, but he answers, "No, I have no father, no mother, now. Before, you ran away from me because I had sores. Now, to-day, I am all right and you want to eat with me. No, I have no father and mother now." The parents go away.

A husband caught some fish. He wraps them in leaves and puts them in the *liga* to be baked overnight.

That night the woman does not sleep very well. Just before sunrise she gets up. The man is still sleeping. She takes out the fish from the fire and eats them all.

The man rises later, looks for the fish, and finds that they are gone. He is very cross and kills his wife. Then a pig is killed and a big feast is made for her by her clan relatives.

A man goes to look at a breadfruit tree which he says belongs to him. Then his *gas* comes up and says that the tree belongs to him, and they quarrel over its ownership. The man climbs the tree and the *gas* stands below and eats the breadfruit, which fall down. When the man comes down from the tree and discovers this he is angry, and tells his child to run and get his *anis* (dancing

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mask) and to put it on and scare the *gas*. The boy does this and the *gas* runs down into a hole in the ground. The man and his son then stick a branch of a tree down the hole and they go back to the village. Later the *gas* comes up from the hole, eats the tree and returns to the bush.

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These tales are but samples of the many which are told to the children. Obedience of children to parents, the breaking of the incest taboo, the taboo against intercourse for a woman during the period when she is nursing her child, the revolt of a child, the punishment of the woman who ate her husband's fish, an encounter of a man with his *gas* (or double) are a few of the many themes to which the children listen. And the children know their tales. In recording them, I found that the children could tell them as well as the adults. Thus, although the children learn the pattern of behaviour among adults through observations, it is also impressed upon them by folk-tales and myths. This part of their education is not dependent on the parents, or any other members of the immediate family; it is the village or community which is the school. The children may hear the tales around the fires in their own compound, but they are also sure to hear them once a year at the communal folk-tale telling period.

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BETROTHAL CUSTOMS

During this same period of childhood a girl is betrothed. It has already been told how an infant was "marked" or betrothed on the day of her birth by the mother of a boy. But, very frequently, this betrothal is not consummated in marriage. By the time the girl has reached the age of marriage, the boy may already be married and have no desire for another wife; or he may have died, or gone away to work,¹

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¹ To-day, with boys away working on other islands, and the tendency toward monogamy, this infant betrothal has little chance of consummation.

LOVE MAGIC

832 The approach of a man toward a woman he desires is primarily through magic. Personal beauty, adornment, and "flirting" are all of assistance, but to the native real success depends upon magic. When a man wants to possess a certain woman he makes a magical spell for her, or if he does not know one he will pay a man famed for his love magic to make one. There is no particular difference in its efficacy if the lover makes it himself or has someone else do it for him. But the spell must be made, for without it no man can hope to win a woman. While it is more common for a man to make magic for a woman, there are also spells for a woman to court a man.

832 Underlying the use of love magic is a physiological theory
826 that the seat of passion and all emotion is in the stomach,
828 and that the spell causes a woman's abdomen to become agitated and desire the man, and that then her whole body becomes excited and wants him. The girl may be miles away when the spell is performed, but that night she dreams of the man and the next morning she desires him. Then she usually sits in a kind of lethargy and will not eat, smoke, talk, or work, or go through any of the other normal routine occupations of the day. Instead she merely sits, languid and dreamy, sometimes weeping, and is afraid she will die if she does not get to the man. Finally she can stand it no longer and goes to him.

832 A few of the spells follow.
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Kerum timaniga
Kandum kumbetitia
Nulis imbamb
niso rae noso rum goorum so rym
Ti ini so rum

Freely translated: "Go, go down the neck, into the

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stomach, the liver, and the spleen. Make her mouth round, the mouth of the girl." The rounding of the mouth appears to refer to the fact that when the spell has taken effect the mouth will not go through its normal functions of eating, smoking, etc.

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Another spell is made over the *kuskus* leaf, of which the straw aprons formerly worn by the women were made.

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Lungstora Tsanatsoa
galin galin ta
galin galin sombim
Tulumuruth
Liw nor tulumuruth
roro roro mating diuwairung mu roro

Fly to Tsanatsoa (name of girl for whom spell was being made), go, go in her eye, go, go down her chest. Make her inside "hot." Last four lines repeated.

She will think only of this man. Blood, blood, carry spell down to the stomach and liver.

The last two lines are repeated many times with the head on the arms.

The above spell is said over the leaf, and for this spell the girl should be present. The magician slaps her chest with the leaf and then throws it away into the bush. This action indicates that it will be a temporary "affair," and that the girl will eventually return to her husband. Should the magician throw the leaf on the fire, however, it indicates that the girl will stay with her lover and not return to the husband.

The following spell is said over the *tsil* leaf, which is then hung up in the men's house over the fire. Just as there will be smoke if the fire burns the leaf, so will

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832 the stomach of the girl become "hot" or excited and
539 want the man.

Tsiri m lo inu wango (repeated many times)

Indei belmur san

Tuk li munga and di munga lolo belel.

Leaf go down into the windpipe and to the stomach. She sneezes. She sits down. Her stomach becomes hot with desire.

Another spell is said only at night. After it the two will have much intercourse, and later marry. Should either one or both be married, they will leave their mates.

*Nungo win kapun nungo nuno terangalae terangalae
san tel manutsili sungansa n alol bumbung
Mahisis alsol ridi.*

Translated freely this is: As the phalanger runs swiftly, so will the spell go quickly to the stomach of the woman, and she will then run quickly to the man. Later they will be married.

The following spell is made usually at the time of the *malanggan* rites, but it would also be effective at any other time. The man chants the spell.

*Landut meta ninut meta
sipumembe rim lo malo.*

Landut is the name of a bird that calls out in the afternoon. "Then the woman will think about the man. Her stomach will become excited, and her skin will want to come to the man." After this spell, which may be chanted several miles from where the woman is, she will come to him in the men's house. If he is alone they

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may have intercourse there, otherwise they will go to the bush.

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There is one spell which is used to make a woman get rid of a man, usually a rival. In one case observed, however, the lover used it against himself as he wished the woman to leave him and go back to her husband. The spell is said over the leaf *kiliga*.

Mei kadunglawi
Mei tulvil lawi

Then the personal name of the man is called.

Leaf, take away. Leaf, take away (name of man). The leaf is then put in a place where the woman will see it. When she sees it, not knowing the spell has been made over it, she will kick it aside with her foot. This symbolizes the getting rid of the man.

There is some love magic which has no spell connected with it. A man will touch a coconut with his penis and then give the coconut to the woman to eat. After this she will desire him.

All the above magic is usually used by a man in his extra-marital affairs, but it is customary also for a man to make magic towards a newly acquired wife just before the marriage is consummated.

While women use love magic to win a man, it is not nearly as prevalent as the use of magic by men. Five men in the village were famed for their knowledge of love magic, while only one woman had a knowledge of this kind. This was Kanua, now very old, but with the reputation of having been an expert. She is now rather feeble and does not practise her spells, but she thoroughly enjoyed telling me about them, and her eyes gleamed as she recited them. She regrets

832 that she has forgotten much of her knowledge and that her
539 mind is not as clear as it was. Here are some of her spells,
as well as she could remember them.

The following is said over her straw apron, *Avarunga*:

Jawa ila tsarriri, ila tsarriri lasmero, avarunga.

I like the man, I like the man. Apron go find him.

Another also said over the straw apron:

*Larona mumu jamdi masso wana sua
A lili si Larona urenunga urensanganu.*

Man you are behind me, you follow me;
You want me. You come from behind to me.

The following is said over a banana which the woman
gives the man to eat. After that he desires her.

*Undi janton jure
kandudu muta
unda unda muta i undi
undi tsoro undi tsoro, tamuth tsoro.*

Eat the banana
I look at him
I give him the banana
As the banana is with me now,
so will the man be with me.

The following spell is said at sunrise, just before partici-
pating in *malanggan* dancing rites, and its effect is to
make the desired man want her:

*But but tsinanliru
Tsinanliru teranungbilanen
but but tsinanliru.*

Foot foot go
Go now
Foot foot go.

This refers to the dancing to attract men.

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Another spell:

Gulelin m diguri unali twang ni umlawangni

I will hang by the neck unless you get up and come to me.

There are also several rites unconnected with any spell. A woman will smear some blood from her breast, which she purposely cuts, on a baked taro and give it to a man to eat. He eats it unknowingly, and then desires her.

Or a woman may take some hair from her armpits and put it on a baked taro, which she then gives to the man to eat. After that he likes her.

The spells recited by the women are of quite a different nature from those used by the men. The latter are all concerned with their effect on making the woman's abdomen (the seat of her emotions) desire the man, while those which the women recite are much simpler, and are not concerned with the abdomen. They merely wish that her straw apron, or her dancing, or a banana over which a spell has been made, will make the man follow her. The love magic used by the women is considered subsidiary to that used by the men, which is the fundamental or principal love magic.

There is also magic of revenge for a jilted lover. At sunrise, or just before, the jilted man rolls a *tsil* leaf in his hand and ties it in a knot. He hides near the house of the woman and watches where she urinates. Then he goes to this place and passes the knotted leaf through the woman's urine which has been deposited there. Now the leaf is put in the cemetery and left there for the day. The next day he takes it to the bush and leaves it in one of the rain pools there. After a while the leaf will stink, as all the bush pools become stagnant in a short time. At the same time the woman's vagina will become sore and itch, so that she cannot

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account. Ladawin, an unmarried youth of the village, was much around the cook-house, and, while he paid attention to Kuserek, he also seemed to be a very good friend of Sinbanimous. All appeared harmonious until one evening, when they and many others from the village were at my house singing songs which I was recording. The evening passed quietly, but at the end of it Sinbanimous grabbed a long knife (which I had given him) and dashed after Ladawin, who ran away as fast as he could. Kuserek and several people from the village ran after the two men in pursuit. They managed to catch up to Sinbanimous and take the knife from him. He returned, went to his house, and immediately fell sound asleep. I was then told that he had gone "mad" temporarily at intervals since childhood, and that these "fits" are attributable to his dead brother's spirit entering into him. He is supposed to be unconscious of what he does on these occasions. The next morning he said that he remembered nothing except that he ran after someone, but he could not recall the pretext. He was rather embarrassed by the whole incident, and did not wish to talk about it. It would seem that there might be some jealousy of Ladawin, even though it was unconscious.

Another man, Lumaris, beat his wife because he was jealous and thought she was conferring favours on someone else.

Jealousy is a well-known motif in many folk-tales, as shown in the following:

Two men make love magic to get two married women. The magic is successful, and the two women and their lovers go to the bush. After a while, when the women do not return from the bush, their husbands, armed with spears, go after them. They find the wives with their lovers and kill the latter. The two women go on

* This attack may have been in the nature of an epileptic equivalent.

58 ahead to the village, while the husbands remain behind
578 and cut up the bodies of the two dead men. They then
152 strew the pieces on the footpath leading into the bush.

539 The next day the two women see the bones of their
former lovers strewn on the footpath. They weep.
Then they return home and commit suicide by hanging
themselves. Pigs are killed, and the appropriate mortu-
ary feast made by the matrilineal relatives.

It was Maredis who told me this tale, and she added
afterwards that the women liked their lovers so much
that when the latter died they wanted to die too. It
thus illustrates attachment to a lover, as well as jealousy
of a husband. The footpath on which the bones of the
dead men were scattered is known to-day and was
pointed out to me.

Another tale relates how two men, while out fishing,
capture a sea-maiden and bring her to the men's
house. She stays with them there, sleeping between the
two men and having intercourse with both of them.
The two wives of the men remain at their houses and
knew nothing of the sea-maiden. They give the men
baked taro, and the men give them some of the fish
they catch, but not as much as usual.

One of the wives grows suspicious and sneaks down
to the men's house, and pressing her ear to the wall
hears the sea-maiden talk to the men. The wife returns
and tells the other wife about it; then both women go
secretly to the men's house and listen at the wall. Now
they know that their husbands are sleeping with this
other woman. They return to their own houses.

The next morning the two men tell the sea-maiden
to remain hidden in the men's house, and, fastening
the door behind them, they go with their wives to work
in the gardens. The men are ignorant of the fact that
their wives know about the sea-maiden. The wives

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bring taro back to the house while the men remain working in the gardens. The two women go to the men's house and find the sea-maiden hiding under the branch of a tree which the men had placed on top of her. The wives fight the sea-maiden, then go out, fasten the door, and set fire to the house. The sea-maiden is burned to death. The two men in the gardens smell the fire, and returning, find the men's house burned down. They ask their wives why they set fire to the house, and the women answer: "Ah, we know everything. Why have you hidden this woman from us?" Now the men really like their wives, but they pick up knives and kill them. Then a big mortuary feast is made.¹

There are many other folk-tales in which men have mistresses and wives lovers, but in which there is no jealousy.

At Lesu social custom and attitude sanctions extra-marital intercourse, and accepts it as correct to such an extent that anyone not indulging in it would be considered abnormal and most unusual. This social attitude is a more

¹ Another tale concerns a woman with two husbands, one of whom is jealous. The woman shows a decided preference for one husband who has a lighter skin, to whom she gives the best food. She tells the darker-skinned one to go and eat with the pigs, and later further insults him by telling him to copulate with the pigs.

That night the two men plan to go fishing. The spurned husband lies and says that he is ill and cannot go out fishing, so the preferred mate starts out alone. The dark-skinned man then goes to the woman's house and, pretending that he is the other man, tells the woman to open the door. She does so, and is cross when she discovers who it really is that she has let into the house.

When the preferred mate returns from fishing and finds the other man in the house he is very angry and jealous and kills both him and the woman. Then the mortuary feast is made.

There is a similar tale of how the two wives of one man are jealous of a woman who has been formed out of the man's blood and who stands in the relationship of maternal niece to him. The wives insult her by telling her to eat the faeces of a pig, and the man then kills the wives in revenge. These tales are but a few in which jealousy figures as the leading, or at least one of the leading motifs.

831 so ashamed that he has to make a payment of *tsera* to the
578 sister who has heard Towi's remarks. The payment seems to
be a sort of compensation. Now Towi appears to think he is
funny in talking like this, but no one else appreciates the
fun. All the men are rather disgusted with him, who, they
tell me, has had the habit ever since he was quite young.
His brother Ballock follows him in this habit, but not to the
same degree.

831 Various myths and folk-tales already given illustrate
539 several of the points under discussion. Others, too, have a
sexual significance.

A man tells his wife that he is going fishing. He goes
to the beach and puts his penis in the water. Then he
comes back and eats with his wife. The next morning
he goes to the beach again and his penis falls down
into the water. (Laughter from the audience at this
point of the tale.) Then the man stands in the shallow
water and says: *Tnginidol tnginidol* (penis remain in
sea). The penis is left in the water, and the man returns
to the house. He lies to his wife and says he is ill.

The next day the man tells his wife to go to the garden
while he goes fishing. The woman, who suspects some-
thing, pretends to go to the garden, but hides and
follows her husband to the beach. He stands up again
in the shallow water where his penis is and repeats
the phrase *Tnginidol tnginidol*, and goes away. The wife
has heard it, and after the man leaves she takes the
penis out of the water, carries it home, and bakes it
with a bundle of taro wrapped in a banana leaf.

Later the man goes to the beach and cannot find his
penis. He cries out: "Who has taken my penis? By and
by I will want to copulate and then my wife will see
that I have no penis."

He goes home, and his wife gives him the bundle of

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taro which contains the penis. He does not recognize it, and eats it with the taro. Then his wife says: "You eat your penis!" 831 539 ●

The husband: "What's that you're saying?"

The wife: "Oh, nothing; I am talking about the pigs."

The husband persists: "What's that you're saying?"

The wife: "You have eaten your own penis. Before you lied to me. You said you were going fishing, and instead you left your penis in the water. Now you've just finished eating it."

The man is furious and kills his wife. Then a big feast is made for her.

The origin myth from Medina (in another linguistic unit of New Ireland) might also have a phallic significance. Marruni is considered to be the original creator of society, and his name signifies earthquake.¹ He appears to have caused or come as a volcanic eruption, and is the source of all knowledge for the Medina people as Tsenabonpil is for the Lesu people.²

Marruni had the body of a man, but an exceptionally long tail, resembling a snake. He had two wives, who, it seems, were normal women. It was taboo for them to look at his tail, and when he sat down he dug a big hole in the ground and the tail went inside the hole and he sat down on top of the hole. When the wives went to their garden in the bush the tail came out and circled around a big area; then when the wives returned they would call out and the tail would go into the hole again. One day the wives returned and did not call out as they approached, so when they came up to Marruni

¹ In the Lesu language the name for earthquake is *tebucata*.

² See page 34.

831 they saw his tail. Marruni was both cross and ashamed,
539 and said that they must go back to their own place.
They went back to their village on one of the Tabar
islands, where they stayed and later died.

Marruni remained in New Ireland. He cut his tail
into segments and gave to each segment the name of the
clan, and from this came the people of the clans. Also
some segments were marked as birds, snakes, fish, pigs,
etc. Some segments he threw into the sea, and these
became the fish. Others he threw away into the bush,
and these are the bush animals.

Marruni came from Tabar, the village of Moari on
Tsimberi, and the *malanggan* rites came from there too.
He brought with him from this place both the magic
and *malanggan* rites.

Myth of Stone that ran away to Tabar

This myth concerns a stone, part of which is still on
the beach in front of the hamlet Tarengam.

In the past this stone was very much bigger than it is
now. Formerly when the women returned from their
gardens they would put their straw petticoats on this
stone (*tmuhlik*) and then go to wash in the sea. This was
done every day. The stone was very cross because it
did not like having the petticoats on top of it. The stone
was ashamed because the petticoats belonged to the
buttocks of the women and stank. Finally the stone
could stand it no longer and ran away to Tabar. But
part of the stone remained behind.

From that time on the women put their petticoats on
the sand.

Another Tale of a Woman who comes from a Man's Blood

There was a man who lived in the bush village of
Lenopil. He was clearing his garden when he cut his

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hand, and the blood from the cut ran over a coconut shell, which he put by the fire near the door to dry. From the blood comes a girl. At first he does not see her, then he sees her standing in the doorway. From that time on they stop together, and the man gives her food.

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The man has two brothers who live near by. They go to get fire from their brother and see the girl there. They come back to their house, discuss the girl, and later purposely make the fire die several times in order to have an excuse to go to the brother's house and get fire and so see the girl. They do this many times. Finally the man asks: "Why do you come? Do you want to marry the girl? If you marry her you must cook for her, not she for you. She is not a true woman. She came up from my blood." The brothers say Yes, they will marry her.

The girl now goes to the home of the two brothers. They go to the bush to kill a *kapun* and tell the girl to cook. She cooks good food.

Then she sings a ditty near a hole in the ground:

Kandei dil aro

Calls out name of husbands.

Nunguaura roarimani leru rare rare

I came from the blood of my relative.

The husbands in the bush hear the singing and come back. The girl continues singing, adding that by and by she will fall down the hole along the ground. She then falls down the hole and dies. Then the man from whose blood she came was very cross with his two brothers. He locked them inside the house, set fire to it, and they were burned to death¹

¹ Note that in this and the other similar tale of a woman emerging from the man's blood (see p. 251) the woman was not his wife, but considered one of his same totemic clan.

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rite is of minor significance, and sometimes it does not exist, but always there are the essential spoken words. A combination of words are powerful enough to inspire the Melanesian with confidence in his undertakings and enable him to think that he can control the natural world.

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TARO MAGIC

Taro magic is not performed in the ordinary everyday gardening, but only when an unusually large crop is needed for a ritual feast, such as is held at the time of the initiation of young boys. In the first stage of gardening (the clearing of the bush ground and the building of a fence) there is no magic; it begins just before the planting is initiated.

The magician has the *kerapo* leaf twined in his hair and stuck in his armband (*Biuk*). The bridge of his nose is covered with white lime and the rest of his face is smeared with black cinders from the fire. He walks around the garden holding the *tsuri* leaves in his hand and striking the ground and the fence with the leaves. He sings:

Tsuringo bām bilido
Meāira kārasili
Bām bilido tsuringo.

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Leaf of the taro be tall
Anything bad (injurious) go way
Taro have tall leaf.

The idea is that the taro leaf should grow as tall as the long *tsuri* leaf.

After he finishes muttering this spell the magician throws the leaf outside of the garden. It is thought that it would harm the garden if it remained there.¹

¹ I am not quite sure about the reason for this. The general idea seems to be that the *tsuri* leaf belongs to the bush and not to the garden. It may be that they are afraid it will take root in the garden and be an extra weed.

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789 Then the magician takes another *tsuri* leaf and sings:

539

Tsi tanga lä laman

Lenuriadei tsuri

Taingamo tana lä laman,

We go to the gardens

The clouds sing out (thunder)

All the men go to the gardens.

The leaf is then stuck in the ground, just inside the fence, and in the place that is regarded as the entrance.

Now the magician, holding a stalk of taro, the *bang* leaf, and the *bungla* leaf in his hands, kneels down and mutters:

Bungla tapapuet

talutla papuet

bungla tapapuet

talutla papuet.

Bungla tapapuet

talutla papuet

bungla tapapuet

talutla papuet

(Repeated several times.)

The leaf grows big

Talutla (name of a big fish) grows big.

Freely, it is that the taro will be large just as are the leaf and fish. Then the taro stalk with two leaves, which are supposed to have a beneficial influence over the taro, are stuck in a hole in the ground.

Now the magician takes the leaf, *lil*, resembling a long grass, and mutters:

talin pitipiti

Uma pitipiti.

talin pitipiti

Uma pitipiti.

(Repeated several times.)

KNOWLEDGE, MAGIC, AND RELIGION

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*Talin*¹ grow quickly
Garden grow quickly.

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The magician puts the *talin* leaves in the same hole with the taro stalk, the *bungla* and *bang* leaves. All the above magic is said over one stalk of taro, which the magician plants in the middle of the garden. The remainder of the taro is planted by the women without any magical rites.

Some time later, when the weeds are pulled up, as well as the extra stalks of taro, leaving only the shortest stalk, the magician mutters the final spell:

jagagikip ilima
jagagikip bum bula
jagagikip ilima
jagagikip bum bula.

(Repeated many times.)

I break the *ilima* (name of a weed)
I break the root of the taro.

This concludes the taro magic.

ANALYSIS OF SPELLS

Running through this spell, as in all the other spells, are the wish fulfilment and imitative motifs. First there is the wish that the taro grow tall, just as the *tsuri* leaf does. Then there is the wish for rain. (In a rain spell given in Appendix I the sound of thunder is imitated.) More good wishes and examples for the taro to imitate now follow. The taro is to grow as fat as a very large fish, and to grow quickly like a particular weed which is known to grow very fast; and finally, when the taro is partly grown, the weeds which have come with it are symbolically pulled out, and finally in the same symbolic manner the taro root itself is pulled out for the harvest. The statement of the result

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¹ *Talin* is the plural of *lil*.

APPENDIX I

ADDITIONAL MAGIC NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT

RAIN AND SUN MAGIC¹

ALL the men and boys of the village accompany the magician to the bush. They stop by a pool of water and the men surround the pool, waving the narrow *tsil* leaf in their hands. The magician mutters the following spell: 789
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Loungda merima
Bei ruu waii ruu ili
Loungda merima
Lounda siliokow
O O O O O O O O O O
Bei ruu ruu ili
(repeated many times).

Black clouds
Thunder thunder
Black clouds
Lightning
O O O O O O O O O O

(noise made in back of throat to represent thunder)
Thunder. . . .

The *tsil* leaves and another leaf, *tsaba*, are wrapped in a bundle, the latter being on the inside, and put on top of the pool from which twigs and all debris are removed. The magician now holds a *tsil* leaf in his hands and sings over it. 789

¹ This magic was secured under difficulties. It is the possession of only one old man in Lesu, who is old and feeble. While all the magic is always muttered almost inaudibly, I was usually able to have private sessions with the magician when he would give me the spells. But in the case of rain magic I was able to get only parts of it out loud, and the magician was too feeble to be pressed for more. The sun magic (from the same man) is more complete.

789 (This spell I was unable to get.) The bundle remains floating on the pool. Now all the men go away, but the magician remains by the pool. He blackens his hands with ashes, so that they represent dark clouds, and then he waves his arms. Now he bends down and puts his hands on the bundle of leaves and makes a low noise in the back of his throat to represent thunder. After this he leaves the pool, goes to the beach, again blackens his face with ashes from the fire, rubs the black charcoal inside a large seashell, and makes at the same time a low noise representing thunder. When the bundle of leaves which was left in the pool begins to stink, then the rain is supposed to come.

To make the rain go away and to bring out the sun, the magician blackens his face as in the previous rite. But he performs the magic alone and the other men are absent. He folds the *kubui* leaf into a cone shape, puts ashes from the fire and a small bone from a dead man inside it, fastens it with a small twig, and puts it all inside a large seashell, the inside of which he has first smeared with ashes. As he does this he makes a low noise, imitating thunder, and then sings the following spell:

[539]

Naulungali naulungali
Rungali Rungali Rungali
Ye Ye Meli Rungali O O O O.

Leung Ledali
Gasin Singatail
Gasin Jenusa.

Very freely this spell means that the rain will come from Tabar and then over Jenusa (an island near by) and then to Lesu. This is the direction in which rain clouds usually do come. The bone of a dead man is used in the belief that the *tinuato* (ghost) of the man will call out to the rain to come down.

Then after this the magician takes another leaf, *Kerani*,

ADDITIONAL MAGIC NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT 335

and he stands up on the seashore and waves the leaf back-
wards and forwards in imitation of chasing the rain away,
and sings the following spell:

Tsilamansti
Lakunstel
Unlamunsti Turu
Nāmāla malung punoma
Unasteri punaru
Bull lenith tseri.

789
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Make it die (referring to rain)
Along road of rain (route of rain clouds, described
in previous spell)
Make it die Tabar (Turu, another name for Tabar)
Make it disappear distant places
Sweep (the rain away from) mountains
Sweep rain from sky.

After this spell is finished the leaf is hung over the fire, and
as the leaf burns and disappears so also will the rain dis-
appear.

MAGIC TO MAKE A DOG CATCH PIGS

The magician when performing this spell has no decorations.
He mutters the spell over a half taro, which he then gives
to the dog to eat.

Lembej jangenin
Lavulawul jangenin.

Shark eats
Dog eats.

The comparison with the shark is used because the shark
is a good fighter and it is desired that the dog fight the pig.

Now the magician pulls the dog's tail and mutters over
it:

Jelusa lembei
Jelusa wulawul

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Jelusa lembei

Jelusa wulawul

(repeated several times).

As the shark swims all around the sea, so will the dog run all around the bush until he finds a pig.

The magician sticks the inner prong of the coconut leaf into the root of the *bungla* plant, over which a spell has been said previously, puts the prong to his nose and the root in his mouth, and then touches the dog's nose and mouth with them.

The spell over the *bungla* root is:

Ringa gä suk

Imbaru nemaraanem

Nuga bol.

The idea behind this spell is a bit obscure. However, it refers to the fact that some man was cross because he was not given his share of a pig at a feast. He has called upon the ghost of a man who died in warfare to make the dog lazy. The above spell is directed against the ghost, who will then disappear, and the dog will again become energetic and hunt pigs.

Literally the spell is:

Spell make him go

Him who died in war.

I want pig.

A spell is now said over the dog's nose, in order to make him smell the pigs.

Lembei jakidik

Lawulawul jakidik.

Then the magician blows through his nose, and this "wind" reaches the dog and is supposed to enhance his smelling power. *Jakidi* is the name used in the spell for the small insect *turinpaudik*, which bites the skin of the people. The

ADDITIONAL MAGIC NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT 337

idea is that as the shark and the insect both know how to fight, so also will the dog know how to smell his victim.

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FISHING MAGIC

The magic to catch sharks has already been given in another context. The following fishing magic is said over new fishing implements before they are used.

MAGIC OVER NEW LINE AND HOOK

The magician sits on a stone and rolls the seaweed, *muh*, between his palms and mutters:

Muh muh muh muh
Mura mura
Oilin oilin
Mura nio.

Muh muh muh muh
Mura mura
Oilin oilin
Mura nio

(repeated many times).

Mura and *oilin* are names of snakes. Translated freely, the spell is, the snake calls me and I call *muh*. Then the magician calls the name of the fish *lengula*:

Lengula, muh muh muh
Mura mura mura lengula.

Lengula, muh muh muh
Mura mura mura lengula.

This refrain is repeated several times, always ending with the name of some fish.

Now the magician dips the *muh* into the sea, and then into his mouth, takes it out, touches his temples, back, and

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LIFE IN LESU

789 shoulders with the wet weed, the water from which runs
539 down his back. He puts the *muh* on the sand.

Then he takes a leaf from the *keramik* tree and holding it over the fishing-line, which has been stuck in the sand, mutters:

Keramik telu
Telu luga kukut
Telu, telu lugali
Keramik telu lugali
Telu lugali.

The leaf is dipped in the sea, and dripping with water it is passed over the fishing-line, touching and wetting the line. If this leaf is dipped in the sea and then chewed it has the power of making a person vomit. The spell invokes the leaf to cause vomiting (*telu*).¹

Now the magician takes the *lembän* leaf, and waving it over the line says the following spell:

Lembän umenlendo siliaut
Lembän umenlendo siliaut

(this line repeated many times)

Peituk umenlendo siliaut
Malus umenlendo siliaut
Ladauin umenlendo siliaut
Towi umenlendo siliaut
O telenga, telenga telenga telenga
Lemi mango rok
Lemi mango tuin
Lemi mango pura.

Leaf wash the rope (line)

Leaf wash the rope (line)

(this line repeated many times)

Peituk you wash the rope

Malus you wash the rope

¹ My notes are not clear as to the connection between vomiting and successful fishing.

ADDITIONAL MAGIC NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT 339

Ladawin you wash the rope
Towi you wash the rope
Sea eagle, sea eagle, sea eagle, sea eagle
Give me head
Give me bone
Give me piece of fish.

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Peituk, Malus, Ladawin, and Towi are the names of four dead men who were clan relatives of the magician. The spell appears to be an invocation to the ghosts (*tinuato*) of the four men to help look out for fish. The *muh* leaf is now rubbed on the rope.

After this the magician takes the line and walks out to sea with it and says the following spell:

Jäteti wilua
Jäteti mäsure.

Jäteti wilua
Jäteti mäsure

(repeated many times very fast).

I call the ghosts (*wilua* is another name for *tinuato*)
I call the fish.

Now the magician sits in a canoe, and putting the line in the water, says the following:

Kasei kora katawata pei mungasua
Lamelan loak
Loak tapin
Loak ala Laummasong
Lima ala Laummasong
Kunduk ala Laummasong
Lima ala Ambwa
Kunduk ala Ambwa
Tsibintaluk ala Ambwa
Kupik ala Ambwa
Bolun ala Onel
Kauwanda ala Panat
Kuan ala Penguli
Bungbunga ala Sapone
Inin ala Tarengam.

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What fish has broken my rope
Just as Loak
Loak was cut up
Loak went to Laummasong
Arm went to Laummasong
Leg went to Laummasong
Arm went to Ambwa
Buttocks went to Ambwa
Stomach went to Onel
Thigh went to Panat
Head went to Penguli
Breast went to Sapone
Neck went to Tarengam.

Loak is the name of a man who was killed with a stone and eaten when Balluk the magician was a young boy. The spell refers to the cutting up of the body and the division of his body among the hamlets and near-by villages. This is the end of the magic over a new line.

In connection with fishing magic there is another rite after fish are caught. Then a half of a fish and a half taro are put in the *liga* (pile of hot stone in which food is baked) and the names of dead clan relatives called and invited to come and eat the half fish and taro. It is known that the fire consumes the half fish and taro, but in some vague way it is thought that the *tinuato* of the men mentioned eat it and that these *tinuato* will then assist them next time they go fishing. This rite is practised, regardless of whether the fishing is by *uben*, line, or any other method.

MAGIC TO MAKE A PIG GROW FAT

The spell is said over the *bemben* leaf, which is then given to the pig to eat with his taro.

Bemben bemben

Bol bol

Ilisangahol. nunga bol itatol melen bemben.

ADDITIONAL MAGIC NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT 341

Freely, it is that the pig should become as the *bemben* tree, which grows very large.

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WAR MAGIC

Magic is made over a *māhlum*, which resembles an imitation beard and is made of numerous strands of vine (*alah*) tied together and fastened behind the ears of the warrior. Before the war the *māhlum* is held over a spear and the following spell recited:

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Maluh tsingami
Maluh tsingami
Maluh tsingami
Pati tugalo
Gilassu sublow
Gotān gililia
Pinsinnau tigul
Pinsinnau abuk
Pinsinnau belei
Pinsinnau tsiltsil
Pinsinnau korot
Pinsinnau kakabuwa
ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka
ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ei.

Maluh cry out
Maluh cry out
Maluh cry out
Come close
Hold good (the spear)
Shoot now
Spear tigul
Spear abuk
Spear belei
Spear tsiltsil
Spear korot
Spear kakabuwa
ka ka ka ka, etc.

(this is the cry given as the warrior
plunges his spear into the enemy).

726 *Pinsinnau* is the general name for spear. *Tigul*, *abuk*, etc., are
 789 names for particular spears each of which has its own name.

539 The following spell is supposed to take away the effect
 of eating with a pregnant woman, having sexual inter-
 course, or looking at menstrual blood, all of which are
 taboo to a man just before going to war. While the spell is
 made by only one man, it is supposed to be effective for
 all those going to war.

The magician touches his breast with the *tsil* leaf and says
 the following:

Papaelaesa burenten
Papaelaesa burenten orji
Tsiga mutung ladan
Papaelaesa umba luba
Papaelaesa aeina lessi uli.

It was impossible to translate the first two lines, and I was
 told that they were words from another language which
 was presumably used a long time ago. The last three lines
 refer respectively to a child in the womb, to intercourse, and
 to menstruation. The following war magic was given to
 me by an old man who has the reputation for having been
 one of the leading fighters in the past:

Larangām imbala diwas
Karururi rusili
Karumbi munde
Munde iabil.

Mum la
Una a totorli
Una diwas ilua.

I was unable to get the first four lines of this spell translated
 because they are also in a forgotten language of the past.
 The second part, beginning with *mum*, is:

Father go
 Make them (the enemies) insane
 You bring them to me.

ADDITIONAL MAGIC NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT 343

This is an invocation to the ghost of a dead father to make the enemy mad, that is to bring them to such a condition that they do not know what they are doing, and so they will be delivered into the warriors' hands. Ghosts are supposed to have this power of causing insanity. It is interesting to note that this spell is designed to make the enemy weaker rather than the warrior strong. The following magic given by the same man is designed to deflect the enemy's spear:

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Gila gila gila gila
Gila matauo
Gila oro mulini
Gila oro mulini
Gila oro mulini
Gila micheulel micheulel apak
Gila micheulel nau
Gila micheulel bulei
Gila micheulel kowo
Gila micheulel sitongen
Gila micheulel sassonbwa.

Gila is the name of a small bird, which because it is the same colour as a green leaf is almost invisible. When it is heard at night it is considered a sign of fighting the next day.

Gila gila gila gila
Gila (I) do not die
Gila turn spear aside
Gila turn spear aside
Gila turn spear aside
Gila destroy (enemy's spear)

(*apak, nau*, etc., are all names of particular spears).

Another war spell is:

Pi' lälul
Lita malul malul bil.

Pi' lälul
Lita malul malul bil
(repeated many times).

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LIFE IN LESU

- 726 Pi' is the name of a war mask associated with the *malanggan*.
789 The mask is sometimes worn by a warrior and has a very
539 frightening effect on the opponent. Even the mention of
its name in a spell is supposed to be sufficient to make the
● enemy weak and afraid. The spell is :

Pi' you go
Make them (the enemy) weak.

Pi' you go
Make them (the enemy) weak

(repeated many times).

The following spell is said over a *bungla* leaf, which is then stuck in the ground of the enemy's village and is supposed to make them lazy and disinclined to fight. The enemy will talk about fighting, but it will be postponed from day to day and nothing will happen. It is considered that the spell is addressed to the ghosts of the magician's clan relatives, who will bring the desired effect about.

Bunglin simbasimba arup

Bunglin simbasimba arup

(repeated many times).

Bungla leaf chatter nothing

Bungla leaf chatter nothing

(repeated many times).

A similar spell is made over the *bungla* leaf which a man who is going to a strange and distant village and is afraid that he will be killed carries with him.

Iru commici widi

upanga panga.

You do not like to kill the tail man
planted (the *bungla* leaf)
morning.

ADDITIONAL MAGIC NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT 345

The idea is that the strangers are not to kill him because he is so big, and there is an allusion to someone who is so tall that his head is in the clouds. I was unable to get any information on the allusion.

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MEDICAL MAGIC

As has already been shown, there is medicine without magic, which, however, is an accompaniment of a spell and rite of some medical practice. The following magic was made for a woman who had been ill after giving birth to a dead child. The magician was a woman.

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She takes two small stones from the beach at the hamlet of Pencil, where in the origin myth of Tsenabonpil the pig was baked. The stones are supposed to come from the original *liga* in which the pig was cooked. The magician puts the two stones in her own *liga*, and when they are hot she lifts them out with bamboo sticks and mutters over them:

Jā slorka tsenānis Murri
Jā slorka tsenānis bol Murri
Jā slorka tsenānis kapun Murri.

I cook the spirit of Murri
I cook the spirit pig of Murri
I cook the spirit phalanger of Murri.

Then she puts the stones in her house, and later on another day takes them out, and waving them in the air near the sick woman says the following:

Jālu i bol anis
Jālu i kamkam anis
Jālu i tsitsi anis.

I catch the spirit pig
I catch the spirit opossum
I catch the spirit snake.